

FREEDOM

FEBRUARY 10 1962 Vol 23 No 5

'To allow any one man to dominate his fellows is contrary to the welfare of humanity, and not favourable to a beneficent future of the human race.'

H. M. HYNDMAN

In this Issue:

THE AMNESTY CONFERENCE
ROUND THE GALLERIES
IF POWER CORRUPTS
DON'T LOOK NOW, BUT . . .
CORRESPONDENCE

THE ANARCHIST WEEKLY - 4d.

1 year for 3 p.c!

WHO IS HOLDING WHO TO RANSOM?

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claims they were to submit. That was at the beginning of May. The Railways replied in October declining the application. And more months have dragged by culminating in the 3 per cent offer which would operate from April 1st—All Fool's day.

No one will surely suggest that the Unions are hasty in adopting drastic measures such as official strikes. But when they do there is the usual chorus of well-paid patriots protesting at the country being held to ransom by a bunch of strikers, etc.

TAKE FOR EXAMPLE last Monday's first leader in *The Guardian*. It is difficult to decide whether it was written by the office boy or by Mr. Martell. The opening paragraph is worth reproducing in full so stupid and nasty it is.

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a protest against the engineering employers' rejection of the confederation's mass claim for higher wages, but it scarcely needs a one-day strike to show that the unions are angry. What it really demonstrates it that the leaders of the engineering unions (or a majority of them) cannot think of anything else to do. Probably a large number of the individuals who are expected to obey the call to strike this morning see little point in it, and left to themselves would prefer to be at work. But there have been too many nasty cases of persecution of individuals who have tried to defy shop stewards for private feelings to be acted upon widely. It is safer to do what one is told. The negotiators of these mass wage claims are a remote, unreal "they" to most of the workpeople they are supposed to represent. Presumably "they" know what they are doing.

The Liberal vision of firms existing "to earn a living for their workpeople and their shareholders" must have brought a lump to every striking worker's throat. How could they be so ungrateful and bite the hand that is desperately trying to feed them?

"The tragedy of industrial rela-

strikes or the threats of strikes have paid handsomely". It may be coincidence declares the *Guardian* but Dr. Beeching's new offer came after the Monday unofficial strike of Underground workers. A half of one per cent—or about 1/- a week more is presumably an example of a strike paying-off handsomely!

The Guardian also observes that where a firm stand is taken by the employers the strike can be broken, at a price. And they quote the Rootes Group as an example, failing to add that because of the trade recession in car exports it suited the employers to let the workers stew. If any lesson is to be learned from such examples it is by the workers!

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be cynical sense in the timing of things, it may be cheaper to delay paying a wage increase and to endure a short strike than to negotiate a realistic settlement to begin with. But what an attitude to industrial relations!

These people talk about "industrial relations" as if there could ever be a satisfactory or permanent solution to a situation in which one side is always in a position of inferiority. Can these liberals not see the injustice of a situation in which the actual producer has no control over what he produces and is at the mercy of people who are not producers, but who own or control the means of production as well as what has been produced, in return for a wage?

But how can one expect them to understand such simple common sense when they are still at the stage of thinking that the employers have factories "to earn a living for the workpeople". Do these leading writers ever leave their offices to look around the working class districts of Manchester and Liverpool?

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WHATEVER the economic cause for any factory having to close down, most of us, if we give it a thought at all, think in terms of actual numbers thrown out of work rather than the hardship caused to each individual man and his family.

(Today (Monday, March 29th), it is reported that 1,300 workers in the Raleigh Industries Factory at Downing Street, Smethwick, will

anxious to patch up by seeking short term solutions, sometimes regardless of what it might mean to their fellow workers similarly placed.

An appeal by the leaders of the Smethwick cycle workers to the Nottingham shop stewards of the Raleigh Industries, that the management should be persuaded to cease recruiting labour, "especially for the

This is unlikely, but it is not even going to be put to the test judging by the first reactions of the Nottingham shop stewards, who presumably feel they are acting in the interests of themselves and the Nottingham workers, or any others who might get employment by the new production switch.

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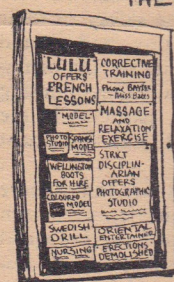
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(Today (Monday, March 29th), it is reported that 1,300 workers in the Raleigh Industries Factory at Downing Street, Smethwick, will close on March 31st.

Last week 1,500 men employed at the Ebbw Vale steelworks of Richard Thomas and Baldwins were declared redundant.

Mere figures for the economist and the social statistician to juggle with, but for each individual worker without a job the issue is simple—the reduction of a weekly wage packet to unemployment benefit with consequent cuts in basic essentials.

There is no remedy for this under capitalism and the "cure" proposed by workers themselves is rarely effective or far-sighted; they too are

anxious to patch up by seeking short term solutions, sometimes regardless of what it might mean to their fellow workers similarly placed.

An appeal by the leaders of the Smethwick cycle workers to the Nottingham shop stewards of the Raleigh Industries, that the management should be persuaded to cease recruiting labour, "especially for the extra work which would follow the switch of Downing Street production to Nottingham" met with little favourable response from the stewards. The majority abstained from voting on this and another proposal to restrict overtime to the minimum.

To support the proposals would indicate a spirit of solidarity between workers which obviously doesn't exist, for practical purposes at any rate, but anyway it would not necessarily solve the problem of the impending unemployment of the Smethwick men, unless the management were forced by strong enough pressure to keep open the Downing Street factory.

This is unlikely, but it is not even going to be put to the test judging by the first reactions of the Nottingham shop stewards, who presumably feel they are acting in the interests of themselves and the Nottingham workers, or any others who might get employment by the new production switch.

The men declared redundant at Ebbw Vale have been promised by the company "that they would be given consideration for work at the new Spencer Works, Llanwern, nr. Newport, which was likely to start operating in June".

Assuming the men are prepared to move from Ebbw Vale to Llanwern, what do they do until the management is ready to select the workers they want (which will no doubt exclude the "dangerous agitators"?)

They will go on the dole and reduce their standard of living until such time as a job comes along for which they can compete among themselves.

Mac's Meaningless Rhetoric

THE Prime Minister in a party political television broadcast last week stated categorically that nobody could win in a nuclear war, which makes nonsense of another statement made by him in the same broadcast that if Russian "were to get a significant advance in nuclear weapons we, as trustees of the liberty of the world, can't afford to lag behind . . . we should have to take up and stay in the race."

If nobody can win a nuclear war there is little point in keeping up a relay arms race as a means of "securing peace" when, if nuclear

weapons are used, nobody will be the victor.

The warning given by the Prime Minister of the danger of nuclear weapons falling into the heads of countries "which might use them foolishly" (how can nuclear weapons be used wisely?) merely added to the meaningless rhetoric.

The Prime Minister's fatherly relaxed television manner must have impressed a great many people who, soothed by the false air of calm wisdom, would give little thought to anything he actually said, which is just the way politicians like it.

ANARCHY 12

ASKS

Who are the Anarchists?

ANARCHY is Published by Freedom Press at 1/6 on the last Saturday of every month.

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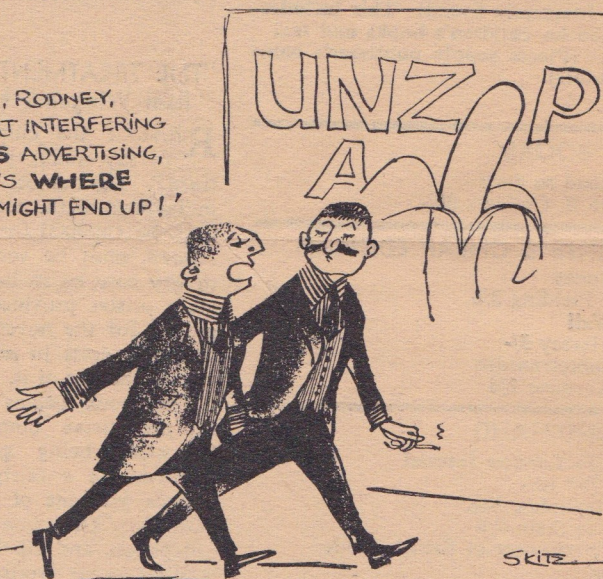
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IMMORAL EARNINGS— ENGLISH MODEL

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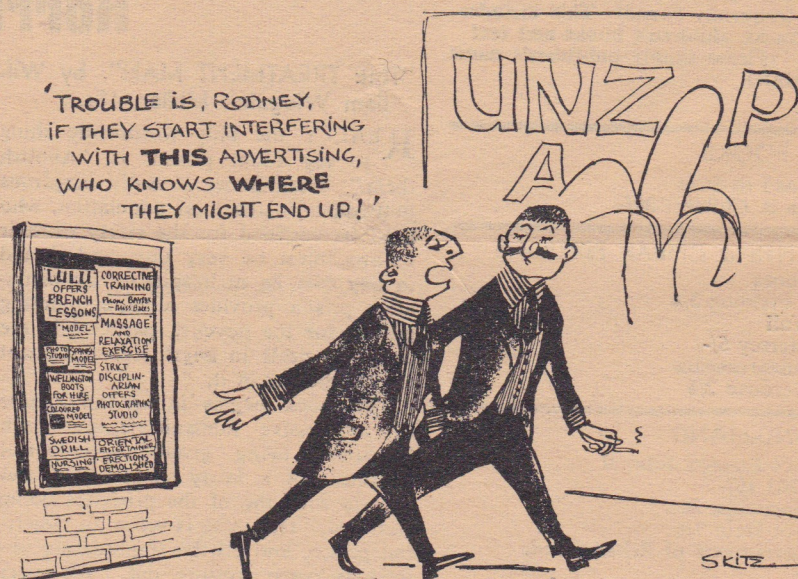
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IMMORAL EARNINGS—ENGLISH MODEL

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no coloured' furnished-rooms and
'dividends assured' notices outside news-
agents appeared the simple statement:
'Demolitions, Erections and Construc-
tions, Floggitt and Co., Phone'
Someone in search of a builder phoned
the number to be answered, mysteriously
'This is the Girls' Home'. Later, the
notice appeared elsewhere in London:
'Demolitions, Erections and Construc-
tions, Whippitt and Co.' followed by the
same telephone number.

These seemingly inexplicable happen-
ings have their root in the Street
Offences Act, which has driven vice off
the streets and into what seems to be
puzzle corner. The cards for French
lessons, car for sale—English model,
rainware and rubber goods, corrective
and remedial exercises all are the reac-
tion to police activity in clamping down
on newsagents' advertising call-girls of
varied talents and specialities.

Such ingenuity seems to have been
needless, for a High Court ruling has
stated that such adverts are not an
offence under the Street Offences Act.
However, the police have broadly hinted
that this is not the only shot in their
locker. It is probable that they could
proceed under the section of the act for
living partly on immoral earnings.

It has already been ruled that a land-
lord letting flats which were (unknown
to him) let for purposes of prostitution
could not be held to be living partly
on immoral earnings. It was pointed
out that the grocer who supplied the
food for prostitutes was in the same
position, in short, where could it be
held to end?

Could Westminster City Council be
held to be living partly on the immoral
earnings of the rates levied on brothels?
Or the manufacturer of whips, high
boots and corsets? Or the providers of
sanitary appliances? To say nothing
of the occasional 'bent' policeman? Or
the police officials whose whole life is
built up on immoral earnings? For
without crimes, no law.

Come to that, we all are living on the
immoral earnings of exploitation, of
death and destruction. But when the
law says 'immorality' it doesn't mean
colonial slavery and forced labour, the
peeling skins of Hiroshima, the twisted
foetus of the 'fall-out', the concentration
camps of Karaganda and Belsen, the
tortures of Algeria, the exploitation of
man by man for food, clothing and
shelter. By 'immorality' the law means
any attempt at or achievement or sexual
satisfaction, as part of a purely commer-
cial transaction.

Hence, the commercialization of sex,
which must be thrust into the back-
ground. The failure to suppress news-
agents' cards, may be followed by fail-
ure to press home the 'immoral earn-
ings' charge. (It would seem that female
newsagents would be exempt from this).
The police won't worry, because if they
want to stop it, they will try obstruction,
(in Old Compton Street looking for a
furnished room) public mischief (shock-
ing susceptible provincials), conspiracy
(two parties on an unlawful project),
loitering with intent (waiting for Godot,
Cowboy or Lefty), in possession of
house-breaking implements by night (a
nail file) and anything else they can
think of.

Meanwhile, the French lessons on the
English model go on. J.R.

The Appeal for Amnesty Conference

Does the State Exist?

AT the Appeal for Amnesty Conference at the Niblett Hall on January the 27th; Dr. A. Allot—by far the most radical of the speakers—spent a considerable time considering—“does the State exist in any real sense?”. He said that there is an analogy with Limited Liability Companies, which from the lawyers’ point of view are legal fictions, but which business men find it convenient to assume exist. Dr. Allot defined the State as the coming together of a people for the greater well-being of the majority of them. A view that Anarchists naturally find naïve. Having made such an assumption as to the nature of the State Dr. Allot was remarkably Libertarian in his subsequent remarks, for despite believing the State to be beneficent, he favoured a remarkable number of checks and balances. This is of course typical of the confusion in the liberal mind, for if the State is beneficent then the more of it the better; while if Jefferson was right and “that Government is best that governs least,” then by a simple syllogism so was Thoreau and “that Government is best that governs not at all.”

Earlier Dr. Allot had considered Natural Law, but though he appeared to

lean to a belief in a Universal humanistic Law, he cautioned his audience that since few Governments accept its existence, and these interpret it according to their interests, its existence is a matter of somewhat academic speculation, and a plea of Natural Law is not to be recommended in court. (He might have added that Verwoerd and Welensky believe that racial segregation is incumbent on a basis of Natural Law.)

Further defining the State he described it as the largest and most rigid of a series of voluntary communities—giving Trade Unions and business combines as an example of middle-sized ones, and showing resemblances. But he failed to say if he himself appreciated that unlike the worst of these the State is not voluntary for though one may leave one State to seek refuge in another, no-one is permitted to secede from all States and reject the laws of all States.

Naturally, with such a view of the State he held it the duty of citizens to conform to the laws; and the redeeming feature was the reservations that he then laid down. Laws must be constitutionally arrived at . . . there must be Freedom of opinion . . . (he then had to admit here that he could not say where the boundary between permissible dissent and subversion lies) . . . and that conformity does not imply acceptance of tyranny, even majority tyranny—as for existence when the Nazi Government

democratically elected by a majority of the German people proceeded to exterminate the Jewish minority. But one was left wanting to ask the awkward questions. Does the possession of colonies constitute tyranny? Does it absolve the citizens of the metropolitan country of their duty to obey laws? Does the possession of weapons of genocide by some powers constitute tyranny over others?

Nevertheless within these limits Dr. Allot built up a remarkably sound case, as he began to go through these points in detail; commenting on the title of the Conference “Personal Freedom in the Emergent Countries,” and the implied assumption that in a newly independent State about to embark on a period of industrialisation, some curtailment of recognized rights of the individual might well be both necessary and even laudible; he pointed out that there is a *prima facie* case that the individual should be free, and that “democratic” rights apply everywhere that therefore it is up to those who would excuse tyranny to put a substantiated case, not to the liberal to put the case for freedom; he added that it was something of an insult to the emergent states to imply that they were incapable of such freedoms, as those who would turn a blind eye to dictatorship in them appeared to do

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Discussion centre

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Away with these Horrible Institutions!

“THE TREATMENT MAN”, by William Wiegand, Muller, 18s.

REALLY the only worthwhile thing to say about prisons is, “Abolish them.” The number of really dangerous individuals in the total population, who must be confined for the safety of their fellows, must be very tiny, and should in any case be in hospitals. Unfortunately prison provides a happy hunting ground for the novelist, particularly the one who deals in *angst*, sin, atonement and all the rest of it.

This book begins in an atmosphere of progressive humanitarianism, with “inmates” being given psychological treatment of a fairly simple kind, but it ends with one of the prisoners being castrated. The scene is set in an American prison, and all the transatlantic obsessions come trotting out. We meet again many old friends: the Catholic priest is here, so is the man who enjoyed being beaten when a youth, the anti-Semitic Jew appears, likewise the psychopath, and there are battalions of homosexuals. Freud and Jehovah brood darkly in the background, but there are no

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In the end the riot achieves little. Everybody double-crosses everybody else. The “Treatment Man” betrays the youth he was formerly giving therapy to, and the young man is castrated by his fellow prisoners whom he was going to let down. Was the officer in love with him? Or was he merely identifying with him? Or was it all bad luck? We are never told. You draw your own conclusions. Mine are, do away with these horrible institutions!

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sexuals. Freud and Jehovah brood dark-
ly in the background, but there are no
devouring mothers and vicious girl
friends. An oversight.

If there were less hints and allusive-
ness, this story of a prison riot would
be better, I cannot help feeling. One
tends to skip the passages where the
characters ruminate. They do this a lot.
Am I guilty? Are they responsible?
Why does so and so have this particular
expression? Why does he do such and
such? One never finds out.

There is a real contrast between the
prison officers conscientiously giving
"treatment" to their charges, is an atmos-
phere of rationality and friendliness,
and the real life of the prison, which
the "treatment men" never see, where
brutality reigns supreme, where some
of the older prisoners have got them-
selves into such positions of power that
they virtually run the place. We see
two of these "inmates" who run a lucra-
tive business selling the youthful prison-
ers by auction, to more mature men who
need sexual partners. One of these
slavers is a disciple of Walt Whitman,
who he quotes to persuade himself that
he and his boss are really running things
for the benefit of the prisoners them-
selves.

In the outside world the officers ana-
lyse each other in their daily conversa-
tions, and in their thoughts, as well as
searching their own souls. Does this
really happen in real life in the United
States? In Europe it is still something
of a joke to give a Freudian interpreta-
tion of someone's motives. In this cloudy
atmosphere everything can mean any-
thing. No one's motives are unmixed.
Doubtless we are all perverts, so what?
How can anybody really hope to inter-

pret anybody? And if they could what
good would it do? This endless probing
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Colonial rule had left the "emergent

countries" with a Parliamentary system,
a tradition of Authoritarian hierarchical
rule that conflicted with that system and
the disease of Westminsterism—exag-
gerated respect for the British institu-
tions of Democracy. He stressed as
against those who were always trying to
export British Institutions that a written
Constitution is not such an institution,
and that in Britain it is not the Constitu-
tional forms that matter it is the spirit of
the People that dictates that one allows
reasonable freedoms to the opposition.
Nevertheless, Allot came remarkably
near to saying what Lassalle says in
"Qu'est ce que c'est qu'une Constitu-
tion", that Constitutions only have force
in so far as they mirror the real con-
frontation of forces in society.

Dr. Allot went to quite considerable
lengths to distinguish between democra-
tic forms and democratic content, show-
ing that a two-party system is by no
means synonymous with democracy, that
the old African Tribal systems had much
that was democratic and that two parties
seldom give perfection. With an insight
that conflicted with his fundamental
assumptions he then remarked that any
Government is tempted to use its power
in order to retain power; but did not
proceed to draw the logical conclusions.
He discussed, tribalism, religious dissent
and other causes of social factionalism
and demands for economic development
as the excuses given by the defenders of
totalitarianism; considered the case of
18b in this country, accepting that
Britain was a dictatorship during the
war (though holding that the British
knew at the time that it was only tem-
porary and that otherwise they would
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Dr. Allot's ideas were a remarkable
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one point asked how long an Imperial
Power should cling to power in colonies
so as to make certain that one is not
handing over to tyrannical rule from a
new ruling class; i.e. how long should
one maintain one's own tyranny in
order to prevent someone else exercis-
ing it?

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

Discussion centred on what amount of

FREEDOM

dissent is permissible and reasonable in
a democratic country; whether we should
accept that Freedom of a country means
Freedom of the individual citizen as
well. Though it was said that Freedom,
like Peace, is indivisible, the substance
of such Freedom appeared limited. One
Ghana Students' Association member,
after an eloquent appeal against
Nkrumah's policies then told us that
Britain had given Ghana Freedom too
soon and should have maintained the
rule; while a member of the Zimbabwe
African People's Union held that we
should not criticize Ghana, for after all,
it compared well with South Africa and
Southern Rhodesia. (Which one might
be excused for considering a not very
high recommendation).

When Peter Beneson, the founder of
Amnesty and a well-known lawyer told
us that the real cause of lack of liberty
in Ghana was that it lacked a sufficient
Bar—by this time one was inclined to
agree with him, but when it turned out
that he meant the legal Bar, remembered
that two-thirds of the Ghana students at
College had been doing Law, because
lawyers were far better paid in Ghana
than any other profession, and that per-
haps Doctors, Teachers and Engineers
might be more immediately vital.
Benenson's point was taken further by
Tom Sargent of *Justice* who emphasized
that the trouble was that Britain had
not trained enough Lawyers for the
colonies.

After other speakers had discussed the
rights of citizens in Turkey, Ghana and
the Sudan the meeting was then summed
up by Professor Stanley de Smith, who
repeated some of Dr. Allot's sentences
out of context and tried to talk on his
own behalf on the distinction between
the need for strong Government and
some level of basic civil liberties; on
the exaltation of the executive over the
legislature, saying grandly, "most of us
are sympathetic to the exaltation of the
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penalise those who are dissenters who
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The meeting ended with an appeal
from Eric Barker to support Amnesty
and form local groups and another from
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'IT'S THE SAME THE WHOLE WORLD OVER'

Japanese postal workers have been on
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Industrial Worker 18.11.61.

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and the effect is of stained glass and
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the effect is of a sheen of dead white

Upon a white background she has
floated a handful of irregular blobs of
varying colours like confetti upon milk
and though the effect can be nothing
else but pretty like the canvasses it is
without significance. Upon reflection I
may have been too harsh and for that I
apologise but when week after week,
month after month and year after year

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He first paints his highlights upon his canvas in broad flat masses and then, be the subject the crowded streets of his American cities, or his grey abstractions, he claws his way a fraction of an inch at a time to the edges, for only then can he or will he be stopped. With the grey palette of Giacometti and a brush that he wields like a pencil he sketches in his people and his buildings with thin sad lines that fly across his canvases like uncontrolled traces upon a fading radar screen until he can no longer bother with the reality beyond his door; then begins for him the interminable weaving of his lovely shrouds to grace his sightless world. In 1943 he painted his “Flow of the night” and here is a classic example of Tobey's shifting world, for while the foreground is of his crowded streets the background recedes into the accepted Toby Abstract.

He is first and foremost the supreme draftsman for when the space between his brush strokes becomes too great he attempts to cover the gap with colours

and the effect is of stained glass and when he thickens his grey brush strokes and slackens the tightness of the whole the effect is of a sheen of dead white maggots.

Tobey has in his long working life as a practising artist travelled the world and he is one of the few artists who has deliberately courted the East. He claims to have studied Chinese calligraphy on its home ground and whether he understands it on the Ezra level I know not but the beauty of these signs will annotate his work for the rest of his working life. An old man wedded to a language of his own invention he now writes inch by inch across these large canvases the tiny strokes that none may read but only view, for Tobey has left the world of changing images for the silence of his secret script that we shall be for ever forbidden to share except as spectators.

And from Tobey's exquisite work among the noise and grime in the living heart of Whitechapel to the mundane handouts of the moment in the Bond Street area, there to tiptoe before mediocrity and to politely close the door on gallery after gallery for the space is there but not the talent. At the Molton Gallery at 44, South Molton Street, W.1., Gillian Ayres is having her second showing there and as one who has shown at exhibitions that range from the Redfern's Metavisual Tachist and Abstract Painting in England to the First Paris Biennale at the Musee d'Art Moderne in 1959 one can but assume that her work is worthy of your attention. But these huge canvases that have the appearances of slices of children's nougat are work that is so slight that one can wonder at the dearth of talent that dealers' space week after week must be filled with work of this nature.

Upon a white background she has floated a handful of irregular blobs of varying colours like confetti upon milk and though the effect can be nothing else but pretty like the canvasses it is without significance. Upon reflection I may have been too harsh and for that I apologise but when week after week, month after month and year after year these same daubings festoon the walls of the galleries one is entitled to gag a little for most of this stuff is so passé that two shops are using it as back-grounds to their window display.

But it is with pleasure that I viewed the work of Sylvia Sleight. She is the wife of Lawrence Alloway and this exhibition at the Trafford Gallery at 119, Mount Street, W.1. has been bruited around the Town for some weeks. Sylvia Sleight has offered us a record of Paxton's gardens and the departed sculptures that once graced the Crystal Palace. Her work itself never rises above the good student level and in the approach to her subject matter she unfortunately relies too much on the camera angle to flood her canvas. There is never the poetry of decay that Cocteau could create in “La belle et la bete” or that James Broughton captured in his film the “Pleasure Garden” when he essayed the same subject. Mrs. Alloway's canvases are gay, cosy and overcrowded but like the sculpture she has used as her subject matter in isolation, they have no value, but collectively their feeling for the past give them a decaying charm even if the whole possesses an unnatural healthiness alien to her purpose.

Finally, John Harvey, a shy, slim man of twenty-seven who is having his first exhibition at the ICA Library in Dover Street, W.1. He has chosen to merge his collages of newspaper cuttings among shifting depths of bright colours and this gay and literally colourful collection of small abstractions is worth a visit by those bored by most of the pretentious rubbish in the main gallery.

ARTHUR MOYSE.

FREEDOM

February 10 1962 Vol 23 No 5

If Power Corrupts . . .

IN these columns last week (*Steps to Social Revolution*) we attempted to show that we had neither "putschist" ambitions nor "élitiste" illusions so far as the achievement of the social revolution was concerned; that, on the contrary, because we believe that the revolution must be an expression of the aspirations of the people to a free, just and peaceful society—if it is to be worthwhile and successful, we suggested that it would probably come about by a series of steps in the *right direction* the result of each of which would be greater freedom and responsibility as well as of more widespread support among the people for the revolutionary cause. But we also pointed out that any attempts by the people to free themselves from the shackles of authority, of the State, or to destroy the pattern of privilege which dominates the existing social and economic set-up, would be resisted by those in power, and the extent of the repressive measures taken would depend on a number of factors all of which a revolutionary movement cannot afford not to take into account if it aims at something more far-reaching than symbolic gestures. Obviously we recognise the propaganda value of symbolic gestures and the need for them. But we also recognise them as a clear sign of the impotence of the people; the disunity of the people on the one hand and the entrenched power of the ruling class and the State on the other.

As we see it, the public demonstrations by the supporters of the Committee of 100 are meaningful and encouraging: firstly, because they are not organised by political party machines and secondly because they do not conform to the kinds of demonstrations which the State, the Law recognises as legitimate. For both these reasons therefore the Committee of 100 movement is revolutionary. If we refuse to bask in this ray of hope it is not because we fail to appreciate its worth and its potentialities but because we see so many clouds on the horizon which threaten to obscure

minority action either from the ivory tower or from the depths of your political armchair. And finally there are those who confuse tactics with means, as if the problems involved in destroying the existing authoritarian society were the same as those with which we would be faced in building up the free society.

This latter point of view which is the one we intend to discuss here, was expressed by Angela Aspinwall, a member of the Committee of 100 in the correspondence columns of FREEDOM (Jan. 20). In pointing out that she did not question the anarchist aims, our friend made it clear that "my arguments, then specifically concern means and tactics", and indeed we cannot but agree when she writes

if it is agreed that we stand for a new order of society then we must, by all our actions, make it absolutely clear to the public that we offer a new way of tackling social problems, a way that implies complete openness, sincerity, integrity and tolerance. The good society will be brought forth only by good means . . . And a few sentences later she writes:

Looked at from the purely tactical angle, secrecy and expediency are weapons we simply must not use if we are serious in our determination to bring about a new order of living.

And still a few sentences later

Leaving aside for a moment the tactical argument against secrecy and referring the matter to the level of practical wisdom, surely the lesson of our times is that the good end can only be achieved by good means—double dealing, double-thinking, expediency and evil result only in the frustration of the end. The very considerable failures of Communism are relevant here.

As we said we are at one with her in emphasising that the ends are influenced or determined by the means, and indeed anarchists have, not just recently, but at all times, combatted the authoritarian socialists, whether revolutionary or parliamentary, on the grounds that authoritarian means cannot lead to libertarian ends. What we were discussing in the article over which she took us to task were not the means for achieving the free society but the problems facing a revolutionary

forces, mass communications, etc.—which protects and furthers the privileged society.

Secondly, assuming that the existing Order has been overthrown then the new Order that takes its place will be the free society only to the extent that we have succeeded over the years, of propaganda and preparation, in fostering a general desire for freedom, self-government (which means responsibility).

In other words while we are not so blind to the facts of life as to believe that the overthrow of the old order will automatically herald in the free society, neither are we so naive or "christian-like", as to believe that the privileged minority will ever forego its privileged status except when it is faced by force superior to its own.

Therefore, as we see it, the role of the revolutionary is two-fold: on the one hand that of seeking to imbue his fellow beings with a passionate desire for freedom for themselves and a deep respect for the freedom of others, on the other a hatred for authority in all its manifestations. So far as the former is concerned this love of freedom can only be transmitted by example and by the word, by integrity, openness, tolerance—in fact all the virtues which our correspondent lists as paramount for the achievement of the "good society".

But these are not the weapons with which to fight to destroy the privileged society. Angela Aspinwall writes:

These people we are called upon to hate will cease to be devils and bastards only when treated consistently with courtesy, respect and truthfulness and when it is clearly understood that we are appealing to them, as to everyone else, in terms of common humanity.

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The point we are trying to make is that if it is true that power corrupts then you cannot destroy a power structure by reason, courtesy

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There are among the spokesmen for the Committee of 100 those, like Bertrand Russell who in fact are not revolutionaries, and who justify their "unconstitutional" actions on the grounds that the present government and the present controllers of mass communications make it impossible for the "voice of the people" to get a hearing. Whilst we believe that, certainly at this stage, all men (and women) of goodwill have enough in common to make joint action possible as well as necessary, it would be folly on the part of both those who, like Russell, believe in the authoritarian organisation of society and those, like the anarchists, who believe in the libertarian society, to imagine that either our means or our ends can be reconciled*.

Then there are those who believe that until you have converted every single person to your point of view you may protest as much as you like but you are not entitled to move a finger without the charge that you are an authoritarian, or "putschist"—which means, virtually, that you spend your life condemning every

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if it is agreed that we stand for a new order of society then we must, by all our actions, make it absolutely clear to the public that we offer a new way of tackling social problems, a way that implies complete openness, sincerity, integrity and tolerance. The good society will be brought forth only by good means . . . And a few sentences later she writes:

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As we said we are at one with her in emphasising that the ends are influenced or determined by the means, and indeed anarchists have, not just recently, but at all times, combatted the authoritarian socialists, whether revolutionary or parliamentary, on the grounds that authoritarian means cannot lead to libertarian ends. What we were discussing in the article over which she took us to task were not the means for achieving the free society but the problems facing a revolutionary movement intent on overthrowing, or breaking down, the existing order. Our friend will in all probability argue that these are one and the same problem, and it is here where we disagree. We cannot agree to disagree because we believe our disagreement is over facts and not opinions, principles or means.

We believe that the revolutionary who wants to see a free society come into being, is faced with two problems:

Firstly, if we are agreed that so long as the natural wealth and the means of production are owned or controlled by a minority to serve their interests, then there can be no freedom—no free society, it follows that those of us who want a free society must work and struggle to destroy the machinery—of law, finance, production, of the armed

paramount for the achievement of the "good society".

But these are not the weapons with which to fight to destroy the privileged society. Angela Aspinwall writes:

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These people will cease to be "devils and bastards" (terms we never use since they refer to the "outsiders" of present society who might well be our allies!) *only when they are shorn of their power or privileged status!* We know, and acknowledge the fact, that many of the pioneers of revolutionary anarchism and socialism sprung from the privileged classes (and it should also be acknowledged that a very large number of them, in spite of their radical ideas were basically, authoritarians) but they are surely the exceptions that prove the rule. In any case, power, privilege, is not a disease which affects one "class" from which another is immune. The policeman, the general, the manager and the foreman—to mention a few—spring from all different kinds of social backgrounds.

The point we are trying to make is that if it is true that power corrupts then you cannot destroy a power structure by reason, courtesy, respect, etc. . . . The ruling class are not, in their positions of power by accident or through ignorance. Power and privilege are prizes for which some people would betray their friends and sell their souls. Against such people the kind of "treatment" Angela Aspinwall advocates would meet with no response—on the contrary as we have seen in the past months, the policy of openness, etc. of the Committee of 100 has simply resulted in an intensification of the measures the authorities are taking to destroy it.

There is only one way of destroying the privileged Society: by confronting its power with the greater power of the people. This will not happen overnight, it may well be a long process but not an impossible one, as contemporary history can demonstrate with vivid examples.

OURSELVES (in trouble)

Once again we must apologise to our readers for the delay, this time in bringing out ANARCHY. We are still without our own printing machine and helpful as are our friends in the printing trade they too have their problems, and one of them coincided with the day when

ANARCHY had to be run off. As a result of the delay in printing our binders were unable to give immediate service, and so the delays mounted up and in the end FREEDOM and ANARCHY were dispatched in the same envelope.

*See Russell's *Penguin Special* "Has Man a Future?" in which the only references he makes to anarchism are derogatory. We hope to discuss this work in due course.

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Don't Look Now, But I Think The World Has Ended

THERE is something gratifying in the contemplation of the cataclysmic. The horrible fascination of the spectacle of the world disintegrating by atomic explosions, the whole B.E.M. approach to S.F., such catharses as *The Day the Daily Express Caught Fire* all serve to purge us of this perilous stuff of living.

From India where those hopefuls of yesterday Mahatma Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave emerged (whatever became of Jayaprakash Narayan? Probably 'looked bad on the bills'), new hope for mankind has risen, with an astrological forecast that because eight planets are now in Capricorn, and just after midnight there will be an eclipse of the sun, there will be 'a great calamity on earth'. It is possible that this *may* mean the end of the world. But don't rush for the exits since if it was going to happen, it would by now have happened and *major* technical difficulties would have prevented you reading this issue of FREEDOM.

However, there are several other theories, that make it seem that this planets' acting the giddy goat will not be so calamitous. We are told that this happened before (in 1524). The arks were made, businesses were sold up, and many moved up to the mountain top. And nothing happened. So *they* say, but do

we know anybody who was alive then? Very well then.

There is a theory of separate universes or pluralistic solipsism (to give it its simple name), which makes it highly probable that the world *did* end in 1524 and also explains several obscure phenomena including the behaviour of public men.

You know how it is that it *always* rains on the day when you've forgotten your raincoat, it is *always* the No. 30 that turns up when you want a 74, the lights are *always* green when you're a pedestrian, and always red when you're a motorist. Further statistical evidence of this kind is readily observable (see Hooflunger *The Hostility of Objects*), but it has been readily pointed out that we can't *all* get wet, wait for buses, have lights against us, be short of coppers, etc., etc., so pondering on this subject there has emerged the theory of pluralistic solipsism (or p.s. as he's known to friends). Put briefly (as there's not much time) the theory is that we *all* live in different universes!

This means that the world that ends next Tuesday is the Indian astrologers' world and not my world. My world is a compound of annoyances, rain, 30 buses, red lights, wrong numbers all directed at *me* personally. The world did end in 1524 but not my world. Mine didn't start till 1913.

P.S. explains why Adam Faith and the faith of Adam have so little in common. Why Woodrow Wyatt and Hugh Gaitskell don't see eye to eye. Why Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Krushchev cruise on their lonely ways 'like sputniks that pass in the night' as the poet says, with sad little uninterpretable 'bleeps' to outer void space.

But this has its bright side too. This p.s. world can be an anarchistic world. The world of tyranny and hate has disappeared for those who won't hate or be tyrannised. The world of money and the rat-race cease to exist for those whose values are different. The world of superstition and charlatanism cease for those who are aware and sceptical.

The Indian astrologers can keep their world! And that goes for Adam Faith, the Archbishop of York, Woodrow Wyatt, Hugh Gaitskell, Harold Macmillan and Uncle Nikita and all!

JACK SPRATT.

In the margin

THE UNCOMFORTABLE INN, by
Dachine Rainer, Abelard-Schuman.

THIS is a novel I liked very much.

"The Uncomfortable Inn" is the story of Eleanor Small, poet and writer, who seeks a solution to her domestic and creative problems by going to live in Greenwich Village, New York. By chance she obtains rooms in a large house in Bank Street, which is run by Daphne Spenser, an eccentric woman who had been "a gay young thing" during the 'twenties. This house is in-

on the back cover. Again, anyone with a knowledge of those poets who came to the fore in the 'thirties will be able to make a good guess as to who the unknown poet is whom "Eleanor Small" visits.

Literary detection apart, however, let me conclude by affirming my belief that this novel has added to Dachine Rainer's stature as a creative writer. Known before as a poet and essayist (those who recall "Retort" and "Prison Etiquette" will remember her work in both these fields), she has now given us a book richly varied and containing some re-

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physical bums who cannot fit into the
world 'outside'. By cajolery and bully-
ing Daphne Spencer endeavours to 're-
form' them, but really does not want
them to be 'cured' because their exist-
ence is her *raison d'être*. Homosexuals,
drunkards, abandoned mothers, anyone
down on their luck—all these are fair
game for her crusading campaign. A
campaign which she never wants to end
in success, for that would be its un-
doing.

Against this background, Eleanor
Small describes her life at this period
and the three men who, to a greater or
lesser extent, are involved in it. There
is Dudley Livingston, father of her child
and editor of anarchist journals; Pete
Bowles, business man and lover of the
arts, with whom she once had an affair;
and Thomas Conway, writer and Catho-
lic, with whom she falls in love and
who falls in love with her, and who re-
fuses to consummate their love because
of the chains of his religion.

"The Uncomfortable Inn" is no mere
'love story' with an 'exotic' setting, how-
ever. It is a serious portrayal of the
lives and feelings of those who, by
choice or necessity, exist on the margin
of the mores and institutions of society.
Although it is prefaced with the conven-
tional disclaimer regarding "resemblance
to persons" being "coincidental", etc.,
its autobiographical origin is obvious.
Older readers of FREEDOM will, for in-
stance, have little difficulty in identifying
the character called "Dewitt MacDaniels"
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for "Dudley Livingstone" can easily be
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Literary detection apart, however, let
me conclude by affirming my belief that
this novel has added to Dachine Rainer's
stature as a creative writer. Known
before as a poet and essayist (those who
recall "Retort" and "Prison Etiquette"
will remember her work in both these
fields), she has now given us a book
richly varied and containing some re-
markably fine passages of writing. I
look forward to her next.

S. E. PARKER.

SIGN OF THE TIMES?

Two letters from the Correspondence
Columns of the *Guardian*:

Sir,—This silly controversy about
whether or not Lord Snowdon should
work for the "Sunday Times" could
have, if one looks hard enough, a serious
side.

It may be that when he saw the ten-
ders for the restoration of Kensington
Palace Lord Snowdon decided that he
ought to make a contribution. If this
doubtful assumption is correct, then he
is to be congratulated on being the first
member of the Royal Family to have a
conscience about such a waste of public
money.

Yours faithfully,
Brian Stokes.

THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

Cape Canaveral, January 24

A United States rocket which was to
have put five satellites into orbit simul-
taneously with an 80ft. Thor-Able-Star
rocket, failed to build up enough thrust
and plunged into the Atlantic Ocean to-
day. . . .

The five satellites in today's abortive
attempt weighed a total of 219lb. They
were attached to a rack inside the bul-
bous nose of the rocket which cost
£1,200,000.—(B.U.P.).

(in trouble)

ust apologise to
delay, this time
RCHY. We are
printing mach-
are our friends
e they too have
d one of them
e day when

ANARCHY had to be run off. As a
result of the delay in printing our
binders were unable to give imme-
diate service, and so the delays
mounted up and in the end FREEDOM
and ANARCHY were dispatched in
the same envelope.

Anarchism: Individual or Communist?

S. E. PARKER (FREEDOM, Jan. 6), seems to have the mistaken idea that communism and individualism don't mix. Of course, like most writers in FREEDOM, he fails to define his terms at the beginning. What he means by communism and individualism may be something entirely different from my conception. To me, communism is sharing all things in common; in other words, everything being free to all for the benefit of all. "For the benefit of all" is the key phrase for otherwise things could not be free if they were not employed for the benefit of all. As soon as an individual employs goods other than for the benefit of all he is in competition with his brothers and therefore not a communist. A capitalist to me, is one who competes with his brothers for goods and who employs the goods thereby not for the benefit of all but for his own exclusive benefit or for the benefit of exclusive groups. Of course the capitalist will always say that he competes for the benefit of all, but let us not be fooled, he competes for himself and not for all. A communist cannot use money, for money is the

Correspondence

chief instrument of competition.

The communism which I define has nothing to do with the Communist Party in any nation. A political party cannot be communistic, for political parties must be authoritarian to exist and goods, as actions, cannot be free when there is authority. As long as any individual or group has the final say, things cannot be free.

I define individualism the same as I do communism, for both must be for the benefit of all and anti-authoritarian to exist. If individualism, as communism, is anything less than for the benefit of all, then it is a type of false individualism described by Parker as the individualism which is "nothing more than an apology for economic privilege and monopoly". Such a false individualism must be authoritarian to be effective and if it is authoritarian it is anti-individualism.

So why does Parker continually want to separate communism and individualism, unless he means something else by the terms than I do? If he does, then let him make his definitions clear. The truth is that one can't be an individualist unless he is a communist, or *vice versa*. If Parker is not a communist then he must compete against his brothers for goods and he can only compete with authority or force and such is anti-individualism. How else can Parker be an individualist unless all things are free? He admits that the labourers are "dependent upon the sale of their labour to an employer and thus are not free", so how does he expect a man to be free in any other community than a communist one?

Parker wants me "to recognize the right of others to form different patterns of life to that of libertarian communism". Of course, I don't know what he means by libertarian communism but as I stated before it means to me the sharing of all things in common and if one is not doing this he is competing against or stealing from his brothers, with authority

naturally, and I don't recognize the right of any one to use authority, not even myself.

Parker, contradicting his competitive life, says in effect that the individual should not "be subordinate to other individuals" or groups and I agree. I respect everyone as my brother and no one as my master. I wish Parker could see that the only way to be an individualist is to be a communist. Of course, being a communist does not mean that we can co-operate with authority. As Parker points out in his conclusion, some primitive communities, and I think of the Bruderhof Communities of Germany, England, S. America, and USA, and the Arche Community of Bollene, France, have a strong patriarchal, authoritarian rule which is no closer to communism than the Soviet system.

In his first two paragraphs Parker pointed correctly to the close relationship between economics and authoritarianism in speaking of the authority of capitalists. But later he says that the economic question is secondary to individualism. Why doesn't he make up his mind? I say they go hand in hand. One cannot be an individualist unless he shares all things for one must be authoritarian to compete for things. In the beginning Parker recognizes that competition and individualism don't go together but later he says their relationship is not important.

Parker continually identifies communism with the authoritarianism of groups. If he is referring to authoritarian communism he is correct but to me this is not communism. Certainly the authoritarianism of labour unions is just as bad as that of the state. I approve of neither unions nor the state, for both seek their own instead of the welfare of all. But a communist must be an individualist and cannot be a member of authoritarian groups. He is the opposite of authoritarianism. He alone is responsible for his communism and his individualism. Communism is not opposition to individualism but a necessary part of

it. It is the only individualism. One benefit of all but none.

Organisations

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Deficit Already!

FINANCIAL STATEMENT AT FEBRUARY 3rd 1962 WEEK 5

Expenses: 5 weeks at £70	£350
Income from Sales & Subs.:	
Weeks 1 & 2	£70
Weeks 3, 4, 5	£106
	£176
DEFICIT	£174

DEFICIT FUND

Nottingham: R.L. £2/10/-; Hartford: M.G.A.* £2/3/-; Glasgow: J.H.* 2/6; Southend: P.A.O.* 5/-; Manchester: J.McE. 10/-; Newcastle: H.B. 3/3; Lincoln: A.R.B.* 10/-; Blackpool: F.A. £1/5/-; Bletchley: R.S. 10/-; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; Bexley Heath: D.G. 10/-; Washington: T.M.B. £1/1/-; Warrington: J.H. 10/-; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Blackpool: J.A. 6/-; Bristol: N. & S.A. 5/-; Maidstone: S.P. £1/5/-; London: P. & G.T.* 5/-; Belfast: "Liam" 4/-; Glasgow: T.D. 10/-; Hove: A.R. 3/-; Glasgow: J.H.* 3/3; Frankfurt: H.B. £1/10/-; Seattle: J.F.C. £1/1/-; London: A.M.A. 10/-; London: P.G. 9/6; Hounslow: L.* 2/6; Cheltenham: L.G.W.* £4; Pittston: A.R.* £5/7/4; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 2/6; Wolverhampton: J.K.W.* 2/-; Ilford: M.D. 5/6; Northwood: E.H.* £1; Coleman's Hatch: O.M.* £2; London: S.B. 5/-; Southend: P.A.O.* 2/6; Miami: Friends, per P.S. £17/10/-; Woodford: A.S. 19/6; Oxford: Anon.* 5/-; London: B.S. 1/-; Glasgow: J.H.* 2/6; Melbourne: Comrades, per B.F. £7/19/4; Wolverhampton: J.L.* 2/6; J.K.W.* 2/-; London: R.C. 10/-; London:

Napoleons Under Water

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TOTAL 94 7 11
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1962 TOTAL TO DATE £124 15 5

*Indicates Regular Contributor.

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Vol 5 1955: The Immoral Moralists
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A SMALL ARMAGEDDON, by Mordecai Roshwald, Heinemann, 15s.

MORDECAI ROSHWALD is the author of the claustrophobic fantasy *Level Seven*. This told of the imprisonment of a number of soldiers in a deep underground shelter, from which there is no escape. Here their duty is to press the buttons which will discharge their country's most powerful rockets. They themselves are safe from any consequences, but they can never get out of their cave again.

A *Small Armageddon* begins in the same spirit of combined realism and fantasy, with the description of a drunken

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party on board an American rocket-submarine under the Polar ice-cap. (I had no idea that prohibition prevails, even today, on American warships. No rum, no grog). Surprised by the captain, the second-in-command, who is giving the party and whose career is therefore threatened, starts a brawl. The captain is killed, and all the officers involved face the probable ruin of their ambitions. From this situation it is but a short step to mutiny, or rather complete secession from the United States. Armed with its sixteen city-destroying missiles, the submarine can be completely independent of the whole world, and so becomes a state in its own right.

The characters of the various officers lead them inexorably onward. Each has its own peculiarity, which makes him ready to support the revolt. One wants drink, another women. One has a kind of sexual perversion that makes him desire above all to stage strip-tease shows. This he regards as an art in its own right. The youngest officer, who is shy with the older men, is nonetheless one of the most dangerous, for he still retains a boyish enthusiasm for pirates, and has a little library of books on pirate history with him in the submarine. He has the power always possessed by the fanatical follower, the disciple who drives his master onward.

The second-in-command, whom the pirate-enthusiast hero-worships, is jealous of the captain, a man younger than himself who has been promoted over his head. He has been in the submarine longer than the captain, and has acquired great popularity with the crew and most of the other officers. So taking over the ship is a comparatively easy matter.

The pirates blackmail the United States government into supplying them with stores, equipment, money and women, the latter for ordinary sex and to provide the officer who loves strip-tease with girls whom he can train to act

cause, it is our movement we hold feeling takes hold ever built in guarantee there will be sure to conform come into line agreement or be sequestration.

It will no doubt when the Anarchist it would be possible of society erected of Armand and social pressures authoritarian; while non-Anarchist system out such pressure tarian.

Now the Anarchist obedience Movement Syndicalist Industrial need to build Anarchist within such wider the Anarchist show critical Organisations exactly the same loyalty as does the

exactly as he himself even tries to sell woman, who makes him down and makes threatening to death is not handed over.

Later the submarine cruise round the every country, when no longer forces take a minded air force a rocket base, through destruction to his puritanical

It is difficult to this could not happen that it has. But most men live inertia. They make in military or civil to tread accurate navies and air force appearance of cranks, misfits, more normal (as jealousies and ant in the past led to oleon's relationship mother must have on the formation this in turn, circumstances of career. A career for Europe. The situation is that the same sort of leon—or Blackbe to that—control vilation.

Inertia, backed habit, is usually even cranks if so when that stabil present our lives than on any other to live, but how last?

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benefit of all but a slave or robot of
none.

RICHARD FICHTER.

Organisation Loyalty

OCCASIONALLY Anarchists are met
with the comment, "oh of course
you are against all organisations," and
the implied assumption that we are im-
practical dreamers, incapable of achiev-
ing anything, and that we are a handicap
to other movements because of our
Purism; and at various times a similar
belief within the Anarchist Movement
creates divisions—in America not so
long ago one group decided that having
an editor or an editorial group was
authoritarian, and though its paper sur-
vived for some time without either it
soon died—in Czechoslovakia during the
thirties a semi-mass Anarchistic move-
ment wound up first its organisation and
then its paper for the same reason.

If we are to have any serious hope of
achieving a change in society voluntary
organisations are a necessity: and so
naturally Anarchists have in the past
spent a fair amount of time considering
built in guarantees to prevent organi-
sations becoming authoritarian. But
the real disease of organisation, which
can, whatever the constitution, cause it
to become authoritarian or sterilely
bureaucratic, is organisational loyalty:—
the belief that one should not criticise
such and such a movement or paper, be-
cause, "it is ours", "on our side", "it is
the movement of the Workers", "the
revolutionary vanguard", or merely
"that it is the best civil disobedience
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feeling takes hold of a movement what-
ever built in guarantees there may be,
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It will no doubt be the same if and
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non-Anarchist system of Socialism, with-
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Now the Anarchists need Civil Dis-
obedience Movements, we will need
Syndicalist Industrial Unions, we do
need to build Anarchist groups to agitate
within such wider movements; but always
the Anarchist should remember that un-
critical Organisational loyalty implies
exactly the same abrogation of personal
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LAURENS OTTER.

ons Under Water

MAGEDDON, by
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even tries to seize the daughter of a
woman, who many years before turned
him down and married someone else, by
threatening to destroy a city if the girl
is not handed over.

Later the submarine goes off on a

FREEDOM

Marxist Map Makers

A SMALL, but significant, clue to re-
lations between the two communist
allies, Russian and China, has appeared
in Hong Kong.

New maps of China received there
from Peking have left unmarked China's
frontiers with the Central Asian Soviet
Republics of Tadzhikistan and Kirgizia
although current Soviet maps clearly
mark the official border.

Similarly, the entire Chinese frontier
with the Mongolian People's Republic
(Outer Mongolia) is unmarked on the
Chinese maps whilst the Soviet's all have
a precise line of demarcation separating
Outer and Inner (Chinese) Mongolia.

This is the first public admission of
any border dispute although Peking has
always claimed that areas of East
Siberia around Khabarovsk were also
settled by Chinese colonisers at least 30
years before the coming of the Russians
in 1860.

A.A.G.

CAMBRIDGE READERS-

Please Note

Formation of Cambridge Anarchist
Group.

Monday 12th February, 1962.

Old Music Room,

St. John's College at 8.30 p.m.

Those interested please get in touch with
Mr. Krishnan Kumar
at St. John's College.

LONDON

ANARCHIST GROUP

GENERAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at
The Two Brewers,
40 Monmouth Street, WC2
(Leicester Square Tube)
Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

FEB 11 Arthur Uloth

Men against Women

FEB 18 Philip Holgate

Freedom in Education: Some Problems

FEB 25 Bill Christopher

The Rank and File Movement

OFF-CENTRE

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at
Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton
Road, Enfield, Middx.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m.
at Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue,
Fortis Green, N.2.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m.
at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street,
Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at
Donald Room's, 148a Fellows Road,
Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Last Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at
Laurens and Celia Otter's, 57 Ladbroke
Road, W.11.

JAZZ CLUB

This season's meetings are being held at
4 Albert Street Morningson Crescent NW1
at approximately monthly intervals.

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Utopia (3)

BLICATIONS

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Now the Anarchists need Civil Disobedience Movements, we will need Syndicalist Industrial Unions, we do need to build Anarchist groups to agitate within such wider movements; but always the Anarchist should remember that uncritical Organisational loyalty implies exactly the same abrogation of personal loyalty as does the Ballot Box.

LAURENS OTTER.

exactly as he likes. The new captain even tries to seize the daughter of a woman, who many years before turned him down and married someone else, by threatening to destroy a city if the girl is not handed over.

Later the submarine goes off on a cruise round the world, taking girls from every country, and landing them again when no longer wanted. Now other forces take a hand. A religiously-minded air force officer, in command of a rocket base, threatens the United States with destruction if it does not submit to his puritanical ideas.

It is difficult to see why something like this could not happen. Indeed it is surprising that it has not done so already. But most men live in a state of mental inertia. They may be good at their jobs, in military or civilian life, but they prefer to tread accustomed paths. Armies, navies and air forces are, despite the appearance of conformity, as full of cranks, misfits, queer customers and more normal (as the world regards them) jealousies and antagonisms, have already in the past led to national disasters. Napoleon's relationship with his dominant mother must have had a great influence on the formation of his character, and this in turn, combined with the peculiar circumstances of his time, shaped his career. A career which was disastrous for Europe. The menace of our present situation is that men who have much the same sort of psychology as Napoleon—or Blackbeard Teach if it comes to that—control weapons of total annihilation.

Inertia, backed up by discipline and habit, is usually strong enough to control even cranks if society is stable, but not when that stability breaks down. At present our lives depend on inertia more than on any other force, even the will to live, but how long can the situation last?

ARTHUR W. ULOTH.

ANARCHIST GROUP

GENERAL MEETINGS

meetings to be held at The Two Brewers, 40 Monmouth Street, WC2 (Leicester Square Tube) Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

FEB 11 Arthur Uloth

Men against Women

FEB 18 Philip Holgate

Freedom in Education: Some Problems

FEB 25 Bill Christopher

The Rank and File Movement

OFF-CENTRE

DISCUSSION MEETINGS

1st Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Jack and Mary Stevenson's, 6 Stainton Road, Enfield, Middx.

Last Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Dorothy Barasi's, 45 Twyford Avenue, Fortis Green, N.2.

1st Wednesday of each month at 8 p.m. at Colin Ward's, 33 Ellerby Street, Fulham, S.W.6.

3rd Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. at Donald Room's, 148a Fellows Road, Swiss Cottage, N.W.3.

Last Friday of each month at 8 p.m. at Laurens and Celia Otter's, 57 Ladbroke Road, W.11.

JAZZ CLUB

This season's meetings are being held at 4 Albert Street Mornington Crescent NW1 at approximately monthly intervals.

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